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Frank Roberson & Eleanor Brown Hall
Interviewer: Zoe Rhine
November , 2002 at Eleanor Brown Hall's house on Pine Tree Road, Asheville, NC

[Frank Roberson's father, Frank Roberson Sr. was a carpenter and he worked for Hugh Brown, first at the Brown Hardware store, ca. 1922 and later managed the Asheville Hardware store until he retired.]

ZR: Would you please tell me a little about you and your parent's name and where you grew up.

FR: Well, I'm Frank Roberson and I grew up here in Asheville, actually on Merrimon Avenue. Where we lived prior to this end of the town being annexed by the city of Asheville. And we lived on 595 Merrimon Avenue. Then when they annexed this north end why they renumbered and we lived at 679 Merrimon Avenue in the same house. Now when my grandfather bought that property in about 1883 it was Beaverdam Road. And Beaverdam Road turned off of North Main and all of Merrimon Avenue later on was named Merrimon Avenue because Judge Merrimon's home was on Merrimon Avenue. It's down there where that barbeque place is now. He had a federalist style home down there with four huge, white columns in front of it. And he was the man that when they had the massacre in Madison County in January of 1863—where Madison got its name, Bloody Madison—why, Judge Merrimon was sent down there to investigate that by Governor Vance. And he came back and made a report. Nothing much was ever done about that. The commander of the forces that created that massacre was put in jail.

ZR: This is Shelton Laurel?

FR: Yes, I think so. And he was put in jail but this was pretty close...anyway, when Johnson became president after Lincoln was assassinated, why he issued a proclamation of amnesty, so nothing was ever done. But there are still people in Madison County that are up in arms over what happened down there, and they have a right to be. There were thirteen people just simply murdered, massacred. I've been to their grave. I know exactly where it is.

And, I've gotten off track, we were talking about where I lived.

ZR: Yes, what was your grandfather's name?

FR: My grandfather was Jackson Alexander Roberson. And he was born and raised in Tennessee. His father was born and raised somewhere in South Carolina, born in 1820. Why he came to Tennesse, I don't know. But he came to Tennessee, a little town named Parisville. And he married and woman called Freshhour. And she was of Pennsylvania Dutch ancestory. And her mother was a . . . I'll tell you in a minute . . .ah, I miss my mind. [laughter]

ZR: We both miss our minds, too.

FR: But anyway granddaddy's mother died when he was six months old, and his other parent died when he was a year and a half old. So the three of the children, Grandad was the baby. So he was to be raised by a brother of his brother, and the other two were to be raised by a sister of his brother—Aunt Polly, she was called, Aunt Polly Williams. The other name I was trying to . . . Oh, I lost it again.

ZR: Did you say Parrotsville or Parisville?

FR: Parisville. To get to Parisville, you go down the old highway 70 but you turn off to the right, north, before you get to Newport. It's just six or eight miles back that way. But anyway Aunt Polly lived on the road that's where big fields are, twenty miles or so this side of Newport. And I remember the house she lived in. A huge brick house. Acres and acres of –the Bush brothers owned it—and they raised vegetables in there. Tomatoes and such. But anyway, Granddad's uncle came home one day and his wife said, "Jacks gone." And he said, "Well, I think I know where he is." So he got his buggy out went to Aunt Polly's and there was grandfather. He had walked six miles.

EH: And how old was he?

FR: Six years old. And Aunt Polly said, "Just leave. I'll just raise all there of them." And so she raised all three of those children. She was the only grandmother they ever knew. And then when Aunt Polly got to be an old woman why, she lived with Grandpa for at least ten years. She was grandmother. The only grandmother he had on that side. Course we don't know anything about the Robersons. And we don't know yet anything about them, except that they came from South Carolina. He's listed in the 1850 census as having been born in South Carolina—that's all I know about him. I have studied a lot of things, but I have never got into that.

EH: They say some things are best left alone. Time, if you had all the time in the world, it would make a difference, I guess.

FR: Well, I heard something on television last night—wasn't much on television last night.

EH: Well, I enjoyed watching the Carter thing last night.

FR: Well, I didn't watch that--I voted for him, yes, but I didn't watch it.

ZR: Well you can stay.

FR: But the situation with the Democrats. Granddad Roberson said he always voted for the best man. And he said, I've never found him on the Republican ticket. [laughter.] And the only time my dad ever voted the Republican ticket was in '28 and he voted not so much for Hoover but he was voting against Al ? And in that election, Uncle Ralph—he was as hardshelled about being a Democrat as Granddad was. And in that 1928 election, well, Jesse James and Dave Bailey was swept into office, you know, on Hoover's coattails. And the Citizen-Times had an office up there, in the building next door to where the new Bon Marche was. Somehow or another, they must have had some lights or something.

EH: You mean the one where you went up steps?

FR: The Citizen-Times building? On Haywood Street.

ZR: Where about the later Woolworth's building was?

FR: Well, anyway, the Citizen-Times building there, they had some way, this was before the Bon Marche building was built. And that was a vacant lot. And there was a great big green billboard—fence along there—and they had a sign there that said, "Post no bills." I remember that.

ZR: No bills?

FR: Post no bills, no signs, you see. Anyway, the Citizen-Times had someway of posting the baseball scores on the side of the building. And there was a big thing about this turn of the election. And Uncle Ralph was beaten that night, by the Republicans. [Inaudible] He was that strong of a democrat and he couldn't abide by the presidency being a republican.

ZR: So you father's name is?

FR: Frank David Roberson. I actually was Junior but I never have used it.

ZR: And did you grow up in Beaverdam?

FR: Merrimon Avenue. We've been on Beaverdam fifty-two years. My wife was raised there. We built the first house in Beaverdam in 1950 on Wild Cherry Road. and we lived there for eighteen years and then we built the house we live in now in 1968, so we've been there for thirty-four years.

EH: Have you been there that long? That's on Quail Hallow. That's a pretty spot. Have you seen Jane [Jane Scarborough Pearson] since she's been so sick?

FR: No.

EH: They brought her home from the hospital.

FR: I was hoping they'd keep her in the hospital. I have talked to Laura [Jane's daughter]. I haven't talked to her this week.

EH: Well, she's doing better than she was in the hospital. But she comes and goes, kind of, you know. So they have her fixed up real well in the front bedroom, that used to be her room when she was growing up.

FR: See Jane's mother (?) was raised by my grandmother.

ZR: Good, I did talk with Jane and Eleanor and I had a few questions about who was who.

FR: See Jane's mother's father died. And her mother remarried and moved to Arkansas.

EH: Wasn't there a Shook in there?

FR: Shook was who she remarried. Their mother, Laura's mother, did not care for the girl, Mary Jane, but she loved the boys. And Jane never felt, Laura never felt.

EH: [Clarifying to Zoe] Not the Laura (Jane's daughter) you know, Jane's mother, Laura. So anyway, grandmother, my grandmother found out the situation and she just hooked up the horse and the wagon and she went to Leicester and got Laura and brought her home. Down there on Merrimon Avenue. Where Grandmother's house was was where that theater building is now.

ZR: Oh, where Asheville Pizza and Brewery is now?

FR: Yea, that's where Granddaddy's house was. And where our house was, see when my Aunt Alice married, he gave her a lot on the front of the street. And then when mom and daddy got married he gave them a lot. So those two houses were side by side. But his house was in over in the back. And his property went all up the mountain.

EH: And his Aunt Alice, she went to the Asbury Church and she used to walk up to see Ms. Scarborough. Every Sunday afternoon, I can see her with her hat on walking all the way from Grace up Beaverdam to see her.

FR: She would pick a day and she would walk first up to Laura's, and then on the way back she would stop, and she spent the day visiting with people, all the way from Scarborough's down to Grace. Till she ended up at Mary Poole's, you know, down there. And she stopped by the Stradley's and by Mrs. Gillespie's.

EH: Oh, I'd forgotten about Ms. Gillespie, I hadn't thought about her in years.

FR: Yes, and Ms. Ford. And Burr? Master. She'd visit all these people.

ZR: Which Masters?

FR: She was Byrd Masters—she was Mrs. Fred Masters. Burr was just what they called her. I don't know what her real name was. She was a Palmer. She married Fred Masters. –But I was trying to tell you about, you see, Winfield Scarborough's mother was a Rice. And my mother was a Rice. So when Laura, uh, when Jane and Walter and Bill, when they were growing up, they would refer to my mother as cousin Mary Ellen. But they would refer to Dad as Uncle Frank. Because Dad's mother raised their mother. And even today, and even today, Mary Jane—well not now [referring to Jane not being well]she referred to Uncle Frank and cousin Mary Ellen. Back in those days I had cousins that I had to call cousins. I mean that was the thing you did. And Grandmother Roberson had two cousins that lived in Charlotte and they always spent the summer up here. And it was always good for me when cousin Lil came to spend the summers in Asheville, because cousin Lil had a sweet tooth. So there was always candy there you see. [Laughter.] But they were cousins of my grandmother and they lived in Charlotte but they spent the summers with my in Asheville.

ZR: One question we couldn't figure out, was that Jane was talking about a grandfather who taught school—maybe Latin.

FR: Well, her, that would have been her great grandfather, no, yes. Winfield's daddy was a school teacher. Winfield was Mary Jane's daddy. And his mother was a Rice but his daddy was a teacher.

EH: Well who was Grandpa Scarborough? That I knew.

FR: Jane's mother—I mean, daddy, Winfield.

EH: Oh, and he's the old man who lived with Mr. Rob—lived with him in the house.

FR: Well, I've got the generations mixed up just a little bit.

EH: That's what I need clarification on.

FR: The old house that stood across where Rob lived. That man was either Beed or Burnet Scarborough.

ZR: That's right, because you were asking her (Jane) how to pronounce it.

FR: Either Beed or Burnett—there were two of those boys. And that was Beed?

ZR: She said Burnett.

FR: Okay, Bead lived over on Pinecroft, didn't he.

EH: Yes, because—we called him Grandpa Scarborough because Jane did, I guess. And I knew that the Grandpa Scarborough that lived there ever taught Latin. And he was the daddy of Mr. Rob.

FR: As I recall, there were at least three of those boys—Winfield and Rob and . . .

EH: Where do the Wilkerson's fit in?

FR: Their mother was a Rice. Their mother was the daughter of James Overly [Rice]. And Winfield's mother was the daughter of James Overly.

EH: Now say this again. About the one I grew up calling Grandpa Scarborough. He was Jane's grandfather, Burnett Scarborough. I just finished that good book about the Burnett's over in North Fork.

FR: Burnett and Bead both lived on Beaverdam. The other brother—I never knew him—lived in Haw Creek. I knew some of his family.

EH: Well, was this Burnett kin to the Burnett's that owned all the property at North Fork?

FR: No. Not even the same thing.

EH: I just wondered about that because so many people say Burnett. Jim [her husband] called it Burnet [as in "bur-nit"]

FR: Well it used to be Burnet, but there Burnett's today.

ZR: So, now are we clear on who the school teach was? Winfield's father? And she said he would just teach to whoever would have him.

FR: Yes. Well, in that time frame, schooling was subscription school. People in the community would get together and hire a teacher.

EH: Like they did at the Cornell school.

FR: Yes, like they did at the Cornell school, same thing. They probably went on three or four months a year. That's all the education those kids got back in those days.

EH: And you know I found my granddaddy's name on the roll that Ms. Sybil's mother had. I guess it's in that "Bits and Pieces." And I knew that my granddaddy came over from Tennessee to live down there with the Stradley's, or whoever it was, down there who he was kin to, his sister or somebody had married the person down there. And he had lost so many people in his family, brothers and his daddy and all. And they sent him up here to live—in Beaverdam! I just that was so amazing. To find out that somebody kin to me lived there way before I did.

ZR: Do you know how your father knew Hugh Brown?

FR: Dad was a carpenter. His father was also--his daddy was also—his daddy was a builder. And he built lots of homes over there in Grove Park for Grove. And the house that sits over there on the corner of Edwin and Kimberly, a white house that faces Edwin –that up until this year, had those three Christmas wreaths that hung on the front of it all year long. They took them down this summer, for some reason or another.

EH: Oh, I noticed that. You know, she's in the Preservation Society, the one that decorates all those trees.

FR: Anyway, Grandad built that house for William Jennings Bryan. That was his home. And of course he was a great friend of Dr. Grove's. I don't know how many houses he built for Dr. Grove.

ZR: Is there a list of them anywhere—people are always trying to find builder information?

FR: Not that I know of. But I do know that my granddaddy had nothing to do with the building of the Grove Park Inn, in the sense of the word. But he was the first contractor. He set the things up, built the batter? boards, and poured the foundation. But beyond that, he had nothing to do with it. And I can even, in my life time, I can remember—he and Dr. Grove were friends and Dr. Grove would come to see him, there at his house, when he was an old man. He died in 1931 and see I was a child then. I know nothing about what they were talking about. But I just know that Dr. Grove was his friend when he died. I don't know which one died first. I don't remember. But those streets over there in the Grove Park section, I understand are named after Dr. Grove's family: Lawrence, and Gertrude, and Celia.

EH: Now, back to that original subject. I wanted him to tell you about his daddy and him working at the hardware store.

FR: Well, somewhere along there my granddaddy was a builder and he built houses in Kenilworth, and several along Victoria Road there. The one that was Asheville Catholic High School—he built that. I don't know whose home it was. And he built the Memminger place on Victoria Road, that was a doctor's . . .it's not there anymore, but he built that. I have pictures of Dad, and some of Granddad, too, working on some of those buildings. But anyway, I don't know exactly why Dad and your dad got together, but your Dad hired Dad at the hardware store.

EH: I remember him so well, down there.

ZR: This would have been after the depression, right?

FR: No, way before the depression.

FR: Oh, so your dad worked in the Brown Hardware Store on Broadway?

ZR: Do you know when he would have started?

FR: Before I was born. I was born in 1922, and he was there in my first recollection. I don't remember him as a carpenter. You know, he wore a suit and tie all the time.

ZR: Probably his carpentry skills helped.

EH: I just remember him from Lexington Avenue—the hardware store there.

ZR: I can check in the city directories and get pretty close to when he would have started there.

FR: And I would assume that Mr. Brown hired him because of his knowledge with tools and carpentry and that sort of things.

ZR: Which we have found out, Mr. Brown didn't know much about. [Laughter.]

EH: We know that, I said I never saw . . .

ZR: When Hugh (Jr.) was here I was asking about that because everyone said Hugh built this and that and I was wanting to know if he did actually build them, and Eleanor said, "I don't think I ever saw my daddy pick up a hammer."

FR: I remember Dad telling a tale that he and your Dad went out at somebody's farm somewhere—I have no idea where it was. But there was something there that your Dad wanted to buy. And whoever the man
was who owned the place, he and Dad walked on over towards the (car??) about something. And your dad didn't come along. And Dad said he turned around to look and he said your dad was down on his hands and knees and he had found a pewter bowl that was there in the yard. And they were using it to water the chickens with. [Laughter.]

EH: Oh, how about that. Now I think I've heard that. Maybe you told me that. Now that's exactly what he'd be interested in.

ZR: Yea, that's what his eye would have gone right to.—Well, I didn't realize he worked for him that early.

FR: Yea, I don't remember him ever as a carpenter.

ZR: So, in '32, which would be well, the end of 31, he lost the hardware store and the Treasure Chest—so you would have been about ten then.

FR: Nine. I remember when the crash came.

ZR: Oh, please tell me everything you know.

FR: Well, dad called Momma—I always called my mother Momma—and he called Momma and he said, "Have you got any money?" She say's, "I've got a twenty dollar bill and a little like that." And he says, "Well, the banks closed this morning, and I've got five dollars." And he says, "That's all the money we have." So mother had a twenty dollar bill and he had a five dollar bill. The depression and all was soon to follow, you see. There was a short period of time there before your dad opened the Asheville Hardware Store and he closed the Brown Hardware Store—uh, a little short period of time, I don't know, probably not even a year. Do you know?

EH: No, I don't know.

FR: But that was the only time that Dad did not work for Hugh Brown. That short period of time. But with his skill as a carpenter he built Henry Roger's store building down on the corner of Edgewood and Merrimon. –There's a bank there now, no, what is on that corner? Used to be a filling station and then it's right next door to . . .

EH: The bread company. (Atlanta Bread Company?)

FR: Yea, right next door to that, across the street. And he built that building for Henry Rogers. Henry Rogers had the store up there next door to where we lived. And he fell out with his landlord, and went down there and built another one—Dad built it for him. And he did a few jobs for people around. So he was never really out of work. But he got down during the time of that depression—even when he went to Asheville Hardware—he got down to about $50.00s a month is about what he had. Spending money. And this was during the time that Louise was in college. And they'd bought Liberty Bonds during W.W. I and that's what they put Louise through college with.

EH: And didn't Uncle Edwin have something to do with that? When he had the Liberty Bond drive here?

ZR: Yes, you gave the library his papers on that. Was Louise your sister?

FR: Yes. She graduated from the University of North Carolina—the Woman's College in Greensboro—that's where she graduated, about 1930-31, something like that.

ZR: That's amazing that she was able to be in college then.

EH: Because of the Liberty Bonds. Now there's things like that need to be . . . wonder if the younger generation knew about things like that. People did good things with there money.

FR: My earliest recollection of the Rice house—I was just a kid—couldn't have been five or six years old. –You'll know more about what this was than I do. Mother says,

"We're going to a party. And I said, "Where are we going?" You know, she was trying to dress me up and I didn't want to do that. And she says, "We're going to a party up at Mr. Brown's." And so we went up to Mr. Brown's there on Rice Branch Road. And as I say, I figured at that time that that's were they lived and I didn't learn that they didn't live there until last September!

ZR: Oh, you were at the cabin?

EH: Yes. He told me about that the other day. And I said, "Well, no, as far as I know my Mother never spent a night in that house.

FR: But you see, when we got there, there were the—

ZR: There they all were—it looked like they were living there.

FR: Eleanor and Hugh were there. Mary Ida and Edwin weren't. Mr. and Mrs. Brown. And some people from the church. But there were a lot of people there I didn't know. And Eleanor says, it was party her daddy had for his employees.

EH: They have told me—some of the old ones (employees)—that they had square dances and they had music, and all that, see I didn't know anything about that until some people told me.

FR: I didn't know about the square dances but I remember going to the party.

EH: I wonder if it were any of these people on Beaverdam that were employed at Three Mountaineers? --Who was the family that we mentioned the a while ago, who lived there after the Cornell's left? --It was rented. Not Burnice, but uh, Jane was good friends with the girl, she married, she was a Carter. They rented that house a number of years after the Cornell's moved into Edgewood.

ZR: Miriam's daddy? [reading from earlier notes.] When we were talking about Miriam's daddy—Dick Edwards. It was when Jane was telling about Aunt Sue shooting the cat on the church steps. And she was saying her brother was there. And Dick Edwards, Miriam's Daddy. Because I said, "Who was Miriam." And you said she rented the cabin.

EH: Because Jane talks about going down and playing with Miriam and she has a picture of them when they lived there.

FR: Now I wasn't aware of that that was Dick Edward's family. Miriam's daddy was Dick Edwards. And he was brother to Frank Edwards who had the grocery store in Grace.

EH: Well know who is the one whose husband worked for the power company. And I don't know if she's living now, but she moved down to South Carolina, with her son, I think. And she grew up in that house. She had several sisters—Calloway, Bill Calloway! **[I don't know which house E. is talking about—the Rice cabin?]**

FR: That Calloway family, I don't know that they lived there, but they lived on Spook's Branch. That was Doug Calloway who . . .

EH: Who was Bill Calloway? Did he work for the power company?

FR: Yes.

EH: All right, who'd he marry? Whoever he married, grew up in the cabin.

FR: He married an Edwards--Dick Edward's daughter--Miriam.

EH: That's what I say. They lived in the cabin, rented it after the Cornell's. I didn't think I was mistaken.

FR: Well, I wasn't aware of them living there because Dick Calloway built two houses over on Spook's Branch.

EH: I don't know anything about that

FR: And he raised his family over there and he had, well there was Agnus Calloway, and Mary Rawlston. And uh, ?? became Mary Rawlston and Agnus Teach? became Mary Rawlston. And Francis and Emily and Miriam and Bryant.

EH: Well, I think Miriam's the one.

ZR: Did you say Miriam's the one . . .

FR: Miriam married the Calloway boy.

EH: I know there's a picture of a car sitting in the side yard at the cabin. Aunt Jane was telling me all the different ones.

FR: Well, see Jane would know more about that now.

EH: It's amazing the pictures Jane has and she's got them pretty well marked, I think.

ZR: Well, can we go back to the hardware store? [Laughter.]

FR: The picture I have is Dad and Mr. Dill, I believe.

EH: Oh, I remember him. He was nice.

FR: And the two Nelson girls, Margaret and Lib (?). Margaret married Frank Brookshire, who worked at the Treasure Chest.

EH: And they lived on Spooks Branch?

FR: Well, during the war time, they went to Virginia and he worked in the shipyards. But when that was all over, they came back and built a house on Spooks Branch. And they had two children. Now all these people I knew are dead and gone now. But Frank worked for the Treasure Chest. And when Margaret married him—now I don't care for this to be common knowledge—but Dad didn't like him (?) that she married him. He just wasn't good enough for her. –That was my dad's idea. But they had a successful marriage, fifty odd years, so.

ZR: Well, maybe you can help me with this, because I feel that I'm guessing. If I didn't live so far from here, I'd run home and get my papers which I didn't bring. But I did get copies of the incorporation papers for the hardware store and for Three Mountaineers. There are no separate incorporation papers for the Treasure Chest, and I assume that's because it started as part of the hardware store. But Frank Weaver was a share holder. And, we know that—well, first, Hugh Brown lost the hardware store and then I followed through several months of ads when they were auctioning off items for the Treasure Chest. And the family has told me that the Farmer's Federation took over the Treasure Chest. And it was offered to Hugh Brown to run, but he evidently said, "No, if you're going to take it over it's yours. What I've been trying to figure out is how the company didn't just go out of business like other companies, but ended up being taken on by the Farmer's Federation. And the only thing I can figure out is Frank Weaver managed the Treasure Chest after Hugh Brown lost it. So, having stock in the company, would that have been how he was able to . . .?

FR: I don't have any idea.

EH: And I told her, I don't think I ever saw the man. So I don't know, or can't tell her anything about him.

ZR: A lot of businesses got lost at that time, and they were just gone. So how did it still exist as the Treasure Chest, which I know that they called it the Treasure Chest Mutual after that time?

EH: Well, maybe Mr. McClure had something to do with it. Was Mr. McClure into it at that time?

ZR: Yes.

FR: Well, he was one of the organizers of the Farmer's Federation.
But in the Treasure Chest, I had a cousin—I had three cousins that worked there. One of them, for a long, long time.

ZR: [Laughing] Why have I waited so long to talk with you?

FR: Two of the cousins were young. Not much older than me—that whole family's dead now—but one of the older boys, Francis Martis—Martis was their name. And they were born and raised in Kentucky. And Francis worked at the Treasure Chest for years. And if you'd ask Francis what he was doing, he'd say, "I make antiques." And what his job was was putting the finish on the furniture that they were building.

EH: Now was this built at Mr. Clayton's place? [Cecil V. Clayton of the Blue Ridge Woodcrafters.] Down on the river.

FR: No, it was right down on Lexington. I don't know about being down on the river. I can remember seeing Francis there. Now I was just a kid, but a, the reason people would ask him, and he'd put the tar on it and then the finish. Instead of using brushes, he'd put the color on, the stain, with a cloth, and rub it on.

ZR: And this was definitely the Treasure Chest, not the Three Mountaineers?

FR : Yea, I think it was.

EH: Because Three Mountaineers was never down there.

FR: And his hands were always brown—he looked part Indian. But here's a man who looked part Indian on his hands and they say, "What do you do for a living?" "I make antiques."

EH: Well, now was this when they had all the china for sale?

FR: I don't recall the china.

EH: You know their main business, at that time, I think, was that people registered there for the china, and all those beautiful things they sold on those tables.

ZR: I found an ad where it said that they were "the dinner-ware house of Asheville." And what I was trying to figure out if you have any recollection of where the mountain handcrafted items would have been. Because in the Brown Hardware company the downstairs must have been all hardware, and then the way this picture shows, the second floor is all china and antiques. Do you recall at all where rugs, or coverlets, or pottery—

FR: Part of, one of the main things of the Brown Hardware company was selling stuff to make those rugs out of. They sold burlap that the rugs were made of. They sold the Susan Burr machines. They got sock tops in by the bail.

EH: We used to loop those things. "Be quiet. Here loop these looper clips together."

FR: Now a lot of these mountain kids--back in that time frame-- they wore—sock tops came and you had the sock, but there was no heel or toe. The rest of it was there. And these mountain women would buy those and

knit a heel and a toe. All these mountain kids grew up with handmade socks that their mother—they had bought the sock tops, because they were making these rugs, see.

EH: Oh, I've never heard that. Isn't that a good story?

FR: But they'd take those sock tops, they came in a bale, like a bale of hay.

EH: I can still smell the way they smelled.

ZR: Was it really that big?

FR: Yes, bigger. They were larger than a bale of hay. And you bought them by the pound. But here you had the sock top and you had the sock foot, but no toe and no heel. And you'd take the scissors and cut little pieces about that wide and they were made (into) ? loops and that's what they made the little rugs out of. Another big—this didn't amount to a great thing as far as space is concerned—but where the burlap was and where the sock tops were took a lot of space in their store. But they bought the dye. They'd buy the sock tops and take them home, make the loops out of them and dye them and Dad sold the dye.
I remember when North Carolina enacted the sales tax. Do you recall when we first started paying three cents sales tax? Back in the early thirties, or something like that. And those people would come in and buy a dimes worth of dye. And after they enacted the sales tax, why you had to pay a penny tax on a dime. So they wanted nine cents worth of dye. But Dad, of course they sold it by the pound. I don't know what sort of scale they used. And of course some of them would buy quite a bit you know. But the lesser amounts, they'd buy a dime's worth. And when they started charging a penny tax, I mean that's a 10% raise in cost! So they wouldn't pay that. They'd buy nine cents worth.
And Kress's. They issued, when you bought something at Kress's, say for fifty cents or for seventy-five cents, something like that, they'd give you a little yellow coupon thing, about that long and about that wide, and it had a ten cent tag here. They'd tear that off. And they had one for thirty-five cents. And I don't remember the graduations. But they gave you those after you had paid ten cents tax. You'd keep those things to pay your taxes down the road, you see.

EH: Well know, was that of somewhere in the main office?

ZR: So you don't remember handicrafts being in the hardware store? In the Tyler building, or people in there hooking rugs. Do you remember them in the Three Mountaineers.

FR: No.

Discussion of the Tyler building.

FR: That was a three story building. They were on the ground floor, on Lexington.

EH: And what was on the ground level?

FR: Well, the hardware store, Pritchard Paint and Glass, the Treasure Chest.

EH: Now, see I never knew Pritchard Paint and Glass was in there. I thought they were across the street on that corner.

FR: Well, they were there. I remember strange things would happen. The phone number at the hardware store was 941. But there was a cafe—a black cafe—down town, that was big in the butter and egg lottery thing. And there phone number was 9401. Well, when the black man was [tape cut off]

End side one.

FR: I don't know how it worked, I was a kid then—you bought tickets apparently. And some number would be high during the day. And people would call and ask what's high. And Dad just got to where he'd tell them a number. Because they'd got the wrong number.
But I remember the baseball tickets. I remember that—that was big in my life time. And the Do-Drop-In was on Pack Square. You probably were never there.

ZR: Where the Akzona building sits?

FR: Yea, it was a tap room is what it was. But they had a ticker-tape machine in there and a big board up there. And you'd buy these tickets, and at the end of the day whichever team had scored the most runs . . .if you had the ticket that won, if you had the proper tickets. Now I went in there every day just to see who was winning the ball game. But those stubs, you'd have to wad through them on the floor. I don't think they ever cleaned them up. And they had hotdogs and hamburgers.

EH: Who ran it?

FR: Gene . . . he lived on Mt. Vernon circle in that house behind where the post office used to be. He ran the Do-Drop-In. He finally gave that up and moved to Haw Creek and went in to the real estate business. And his son worked for a press company. And Gene built a home on Beaverdam.

EH: Lominac?

FR: No. Cole. Gene Cole and his son Fred Cole.

EH: Oh yes, and they ran the Do-Drop-In?

ZR: I don't think Eleanor went in there.

FR: No. No, I'm sure she didn't.

EH: Well, I didn't know about it. I heard my mother say, I don't think her brothers went anywhere else, except the beer halls and the pool halls.

FR: As I recall on the very corner of North Pack Square, was a drug store. And next to that was the Do-Drop-In. And then the C.D. Kenny Coffee Company. Quality Bakery.

[Mooneyham's Drug Store was at 32 Pack Sq. N. and the Do-Drop-In was at #4 in 1938.]

EH: Where was the McKenzie, the fish place?

[Henry McKenzie operated the Asheville Fish Co. that wasa at 14 Pack Sq. N. in 1939.]

FR: They were down close to the end.

FR: And on the other corner down there, was also a drug store, Johnson's Drug Store. And across from that was the (?) fruit stand.

EH: And so many of the boys from high school worked there. I remember Tilson, whatever that Tilson boys name was. He was about my age.

FR: Clyde. Clyde or Ernest. Ernest would have been closer to your age.

ZR: What was the name of the fruit stand?

EH: McIntyre, yes.

FR: McIntyre. And there were two or three grocery stores on College Street. ??was one of them, and Hugh's. But you were talking about the Tilsons. I remember when I went into the military service in '42, I went from here to Camp Croft?, and from Camp Croft to Ft. Jackson . And then from Ft. Jackson I went on down to Miami Beach and, that was a tough winter. But when I got to Ft. Jackson, on one of the days there, I went to get the uniform. And I'm one of the few people that ever went through the army that got everything that fit. I know you've heard jokes about the misfits they had. Well, when I went in there, there was Clyde Tilson. He was working in that quarter master thing. And he said come on in. And he took me out to the back and I got everything in perfect fit. Everybody in the service—the sleeves were too long, the pants were too short, the shoes didn't fit. And his brother Ernest who ran the Britt-Tilson glass company—he's probably your age. Clyde was a little bit older than I was, maybe a year or so. They had a sister Hazel.

EH: Bill Britt. I remember Bill Britt.

FR: Yes, he died young.

ZR: [To EH] Wasn't he a friend of your dad's? He had a plumbing business.

EH: No, you're thinking of Walter Britt.

FR: There was a Britt who was connected socially with Mom and Dad. I assume it was through one of the businesses.

EH: Well, Walter Britt and Daddy were good friends. And Shirley, we called her Aunt Shirley, she was in the insurance business.

FR: Did she live a long time after her husband died? She and Mama . . .

EH: Yes, she was a real pretty woman. She lived on Kimberly in one of those new apartments, after, at the end.
But anyway, that area up on the square has changed a lot, hasn't it?

FR: On West Pack Square, there was the legal building—course now they're modern compared to those buildings on the other side. But on West Pack Square, where the cafe is was LigGett's Drug Store and next to that was Otis Green Hardware and next to that was Finkelstein's and next to that was (?Uncle) Sam's . . .

EH: Course Jim (her husband) knew all of them real well because of Gordon Ramsey down at the courthouse. But you see the Asheville Hardware store was there on the corner where the Plaza Theater was. [Eleanor is referring to an earlier time, as the Asheville Hardware store where her father, Hugh Brown worked closed in 11/1911.]

FR: But you dad wasn't connected to that was he?

ZR: He worked there but he wasn't a part owner. I found him in the city directories there about 1910 for a few years.

EH: And he was about what, 25 or something then, or 20?

ZR: No, he was younger . . .

EH: When was he born?

ZR: Eleanor don't do this to me without my papers.

EH: '90? No. Well my mother was born in 1890. Daddy was born in (18)84.

ZR: 1909 I think was the first city directory I found him in and I think we figured he was about 16 then.
ZR: Do you have any idea about how the hardware stores competed with each other. I think there would have been the Ottis Green Hardware store and T.S. Morrison.

FR: Well we had two hardware stores. One was on Pack Square and the other was on Walnut Street. And there though he sold mostly farm things. And up at Pack Square he sold nuts and bolts, and tools and that sort of thing. Big tools he sold on Walnut Street. T.S. Morrison, there many business was dairy farming business. And you'd buy your milking machines and things of that nature at T.S. Morrison. But Brown Hardware and Asheville Hardware, well, they sold everything in the world. [Hugh Brown started up the Asheville Hardware store after he lost the Brown Hardware store in 11/1931. And Frank Roberson Sr. worked at the Asheville Hardware store.] (Dansol? type) plows, yes, but no machinery to speak of.

EH: I know a lot of people who built houses would go there to buy all of the things to building houses with. I know Douglas Ellington, when he built his house out at Chunn's Cove – I've seen papers with all of the things for that pretty house . . .
[Eleanor does not finish the sentence here, but has said the her father furnished Ellington's house.]

FR: The Asheville Hardware—I don't recall if the Brown Hardware did—I know Asheville Hardware didn't sell any lumber. They sold everything else that you had to have to build a house, all the hardware.

ZR: I guess people got in at Lowe's then.

EH: Do you remember when mother worked there. She worked there until she and daddy got married.

FR: I don't remember that!

EH: No, in '25, you wouldn't. No, I don't remember it. But I just thought you might have heard about it. But she had more to do with Three Mountaineers.

ZR: You know, I was never able to find anything in the newspaper microfilm about the Three Mountaineers starting up. It seemed odd to me, because the paper was so pro-business and you'd think somebody who lost their business and then made it through the depression and started a new business that there would be some announcement of it.

Some discussion concerning catalogs.

FR: I can remember The Treasure Chest down on Lexington. [Assumed to mean Broadway.] I remember Three Mountaineers on Valley Street and College. And, of course, I can remember when they moved to the Koon Development. Now JoAnn has a nephew who worked there for several years. At Biltmore. I don't know exactly what his job was, but he's with a company like that now.

EH: You know, Zoe was trying to find someone who might have a list of some of the employees who worked at The Treasure Chest, like these Brookshire women that you were talking about and different ones.

FR: There used to be a man who worked at Ingle's grocery store over here, who spent a career working for Three Mountaineers. And he retired but he couldn't stand retirement and he got looking around for something to do and he joined the maintenance department at Bob Ingles. When he first started, he worked every day only two or three hours at night. He ran that machine that they mopped the floors with. And then his wife decided she didn't want him out at night – she wanted him home. So then he took a job with maintenance and he fixed everything that broke.

EH: What was his name? Did he have a daughter, that . . .

FR: I can't remember. His given name was Leo, but I can't remember what his last name was. Charlie Banks, that works down there, would know. See Charlie worked for the Post Office and he went to work at Ingle's as a bag boy. Leo was a good friend of mine. And Wayne Carter. Well we could talk to Wayne, he would know. He remodeled his daddy's home. You know his daddy died last year. And he's thinking about buying his brothers out and living there – moving back to Beaverdam.

EH: Well I remember when they asked me to put some things together and they did a display down on Biltmore Avenue of Three Mountaineer's things. That we had, and what-not. And at that time, Mary Ida and I were trying to find some hooked rugs – or a hooked rug -- to put in the display. And we could never even find a hooked rug that we knew had been made. And you know, there have been articles in that Brunk book. Cheek wrote an article and she said she interviewed people who made rugs and they talked about selling rugs to Brown's Hardware, they didn't say The Treasure Chest.

FR: Do you have any recollection of a man by the name of Frank Crowell that had any connection with Treasure Chest?

ZR: How is that spelled?

FR: C-r-o-w-e-l-l. But anyway, for years, in the later part of the 30's, selling hooked rugs was his business. His business was in the back of Grace Supply building out here on Merrimon Avenue. He and his wife lived across from where Mrs. Morgan (inaudible—Bob Morgan, up on Cambridge Road?) and he and his wife lived on Mt. Vernon Place, across the street from Bob Morgan's.

EH: That name sounds real familiar.

ZR: Would he have sold them to businesses or to individuals?

FR: I think he did both.

EH: Where did he get them?

FR: I don't know. I had always assumed that he had a connection to Treasure Chest. And more-or-less, took over.

EH: For the Farmer's Federation, maybe.

FR: That's possible. But I knew him casually. Well, better than casually, but I didn't know anything about his business. And he had a man that worked for him, a black man. And that black man also worked for Ms. Morgan. And he worked for George what's-his-name down in Beaver Lake. Ah, Baldwin was the black man's name and he worked, he spent more time working for Frank Crowell than any of the others. And he worked for the Post Office and he worked for Frank Crowell and he worked for Ms. Morgan.

EH: Well, Frank Crowell, we'll have to look him up.

FR: But that was his business, was hooked rugs. And I always assumed that he came from a connection from the Treasure Chest. It might have been the Farmer's Federation.

EH: Was it when the Grace Supply was the mercantile part. What was the other side called?

FR: Where he was, if you remember Grace Supply, you had the grocery store and then you had the hardware store. And the dry goods store.

EH: The dry goods, not mercantile, that's what I meant.

FR: Then when Holmes? Bryson lost the business, Frank Edwards and Mr. Parks, they took over the grocery part of it, and Mr. Brock took over the grocery part of it. They did away with the hardware part. They incorporated that into the grocery store. But in the back of that is where Frank Crowell had his office. There's a barber shop back there now. That's where Frank Crowell had his office.

ZR: You don't have any photographs of that, do you? I've never seen any.

EH: I just remember when you'd go into it – and the old floors. And I remember calling Mr. Biddix . Having Mr. Biddix come deliver the groceries in the afternoon.

FR: John Henry Biddix.

[The 1930 Asheville city directory lists Holmes Bryson as general manager of Grace Supply Co. The 1931 Asheville city directory lists Grace Supply Co. with Joseph E. Johnson as president, Frank J. Edwards as v-president and June L. Parks as sec-treasurer/ John H. Biddix, wife Sadie, was listed as driver for Grace Supply. Also, Lee V. Brock is listed as working at Grace Supply.]

EH: John Henry. Mother would get on the phone and ring that up and call him, or from the Grace Supply. It was so nice just to have the groceries delivered. I remember his little place he lived, down there on Spooks Branch.

FR: Yea, and he ran a grocery store on Spooks Branch.

EH: Yea, that's right.

FR: But he delivered groceries for Grace Supply for years.

EH: Now I have a picture in my mind of what he looked like.

FR: Tall, skinny. He had a sister who was very prominent in the early days of the Mountain Dance and Folk Festival – Bascom Lamar Lunsford's Folk Festival. His sister was a fiddle player. . . Nancy Bumgarner, does that sound right?

ZR: Was it Sarah?

FR: Sarah Bumgarner.

[He is speaking about Samantha Bumgarner who had two brothers, Henry Biddix and Else Biddix of Candler, as mentioned in her obituary.] She was John Henry's sister.

ZR: Do you know how long the Asheville Hardware store, that your father ran, was in business? I haven't pursued that at all.

FR: Well, it started during the depression time, I don't know exactly when, but it was sold in '89. Bob Baylor bought it. And they moved it out on Patton Avenue and called it Gibbon's? Hardware. Out there across from where Ingles is on Leceister Highway. I'm not even sure if it is still there.

ZR: How long did your father work there?

FR: Until the day he died.

ZR: And when was that?

FR: August the 7th ?, 1948. So Dad's birthday was on August 9th and he was born in 1879. So on Sunday August 9th of '48, we celebrated his 69th birthday. And he died the next day. –Dad never retired. Dad never owned an automobile. He rode the streetcar back and forth to work. And the bus. Course, in the later years, after I got out of the military service, I would haul him. But when I was a boy there, he'd get up in the morning, walk across the street and get the streetcar. And it didn't matter if he missed the streetcar, cause there'd be another one in 7 ½ minutes. And he'd ride the streetcar to town and walk down to the hardware store. When it came time for lunch, he'd walk up Broadway, catch the streetcar and come home for lunch.

ZR: Boy, it beats our bus system today, doesn't it?

FR: Today, if you miss a bus there might not be one until tomorrow! But in those days they were every 7 ½ minutes. The day that he died, he'd gone to work and came home for lunch. He ate his lunch and – he always had a flock of chickens. He always had a garden and always had some chickens. And he went over to fee the chickens and he got sick in the chicken box. In twenty minutes, he was gone. A massive heart attack. He was old enough to be retired. But he never even thought about retiring. He worked! He was 68 years old the day before he died. And mama lacked 36 days being 100. Mama was born in 1885 and her daddy was an Episcopal minister. She was the baby of the family.

EH: Now, tell Zoe where he was an Episcopal minister. About the church.

FR: Well, he built this rock church down here in Grace. He was there 17 years. And he was assigned to that church in 1891, Mama was 6 years old. He was assigned to that church in 1891 so he of course raised his family there in the rectory. They had a parsonage. A rectory now is a different thing. And they built that church; the cornerstone was put down in 1905. Mama was married in that church in 1906. I think all of her brothers and sisters were married in that church except one.

EH: And weren't Mr. and Mrs. Scarborough? [Referring to Jane Scarborough Pearson's parents.]

FR: They were married there, too. Uncle Ernest, Mama's brother, I don't know how this happened, but he and his wife, Aunt Elsie, were married in Trinity at the end of Wall Street in New York City. He was city manager and he started in New Jersey.(?) I don't know what Trinity had to do with it, other than it was an Episcopal Church.
Those kids went to school in Grace, up there on top of the hill, across from where, the first school house was up there on top of Beaverdam Road, across from St. Eugene's. That was the first school house. It had actually been Asbury Memorial Methodist Church prior to . . .

EH: Excuse me, what was the name of the one up on Beaverdam?

FR: Oh, you mean the old church – St. Titus Chapel.

ZR: I haven't heard of that.

EH: It's where the Cornell School moved to, after it left . . .

FR: Well, you see Grace Church was . . .what do you call it, Trinity Church sponsored it. You know what I'm trying to say. But Grace Church was a product of Trinity. And John Kimberly, Professor John Kimberly gave the land that that the church is on. And also gave the timber that was sawed to make the lumber to make the church out of. Kimberly's had always been—not today, there aren't any left—but they were always

prominent in the Grace Episcopal Church. And they assigned Granddad there but he only preached one Sunday morning a month. He preached every Sunday night at Grace, but on Sunday morning he preached somewhere else. He was more-or-less like a Methodist circut-rider. And one week he would go to Turnpike Hotel which was on the Buncombe-Madison County line. Big hotel. Go out there in a horse and buggy, spend the night and preach Saturday night at the Turnpike Hotel. Sunday morning he'd get up and come to Candler. There was an Episcopal church there and he'd have services Sunday morning in Candler. And Sunday afternoon he came to Acton to the Episcopal church there. And he preached at Acton Sunday afternoon and then Sunday night he was back at Grace. So he preached at Grace every Sunday night. And he preached one Sunday down at the Church of the Redeemer down at Woodfin. And on the fifth Sunday, he rode the train to Hot Springs. And had services in the lobby of the Mountain Park Hotel, down there.

EH: And tell us his name?

FR: His name was William Francis.

EH: William Francis Rice.

ZR: I'm surprised there were so many Episcopal Churches.

FR: The tell me that they used to feed him when he was down at Hot Springs, when he preached down there. Because the train left at 12:15 and he had to get through preaching to walk from the hotel to the railroad station to get home.

EH: What age man was he when he was doing all that?

FR: Well, he was born in the 1840s. He was not old enough to be in the War between the States. But he was in the local militia. So he became a teenager probably during that period in the War between the States. That means he was born somewhere in 1947-48-50, something like that. And then he and my grandmother were married 1872-72, I don't know, something like that. And the first child was born in 1875. Bessie, she was born in 1875. And she died two or three weeks after my mother was born. My mother was born July 14 1885. And Bessie died two weeks later. Mama never knew her of course. But then there was Uncle Ernest and Uncle Tom and Aunt Nan and Aunt Leo? and then my mother. Mother was the baby. And people still refer to her as Aunt Babe.

EH: Now tell me about Holt Felmet. You know, Mother always thought so much about . . .

FR: Well Holt's daddy was one of the Felmet brothers. They ran a big grocery company here in Asheville. Felmet Brother's Grocery Company. There is a building down in West End today that has the name on it. That was their headquarters. They also had a grocery store in Woolsey Dip. On the corner of Woolsey and Chatham Road. And one in West Asheville.

EH: Now what's the connection to you, isn't there a connection?

FR: Well, Holt Felmet was my brother-in-law. And they were big in the grocery business. But they, like so many others, went to the wall, during the depression era. And Holt graduated from Duke University. Course when he went to college, like my cousin Edwin, both of them started at Trinity. But by the time they graduated, it had been changed to Duke. That was after Duke had put all the millions into it, you see. And Holt graduated from Duke and then, Ms. Rice's son Edwin, I don't know if you knew him, he graduated from Duke, too.

EH: Well what about the Felmets that worked at the Three Mountaineers?

ZR: Was it Frank? He and his wife both worked there.

FR: Well, see, the Felmet brothers, there were three of them. Claude was Holt's Daddy. I don't know if this would have been a cousin probably of Holt's. Holt had one brother and his name was Bill.

EH: Well Felmet was the name given to me to call.

[Eleanor is referring to Jackson Felmet who worked for Three Mountaineers and was hired in the mid 1030's by them to take photographs of some of the craftspeople who made handmade things for them. See Pack photograph collection. The three Felmet brothers were Claude L., Fred M. and William V. Felmet. Jackson Felmet appears to be the son of William V. Felmet as he was living in his household while a student. (From 1927 city directory.)]

FR: There was one of those fellows that was raised down in Leicester. A cove or something out there. And Holt's daddy was first conductor on the railroad from here to Spartanburg. And then he and his brothers got in the hardware business –uh, the grocery business. And he gave up the railroad job and he first lived on what we call today Country Club Road. Back then it was called Charlotte Street Extension. And they rented that place. And then the (Felmet?) family bought a house that was sitting on where actually Edgewood Road is. You go out Edgewood Road and you come to Barnard Avenue and the road has been built out into the university grounds. There's a great big house there that sat exactly where that road is and Mr. Felmet bought that. And they lived there for awhile and then he built the home further out Barnard Avenue. That's called Lookout today, but back in the old days it was Barnard. A big house, and he raised his family there. Holt and Bill were the boys. And then there was Lillian and Lucille and Cornelia and Ellen, were the girls. Six or seven children in the family. And he built that house and that would have been in the '20's probably. And he bought all of his lumber to build that house from Mr. Cole – Will Cole. Course you wouldn't remember, but Will Cole was Wilma Dykeman's grandfather. Will Cole bought Linn Cove and set up a saw mill. And logged it sold the lumber and sold the lumber that Mr. Felmet built his house out of.
And Ought? Cole was a kid at that time . . .

EH: He's the one who did my chimney. [At the cabin.]

FR: He wound up the finest mason you ever saw. But Bob was a teenager when Felmet was building the Felmet house. And so he brought a load of lumber every morning from the saw mill on Linn Cove . Took it over there and unloaded it on Barnard Avenue. And came back home and loaded that wagon and took another load the next day.

EH: Well, you know when I try to think back about who worked at the Three Mountaineers, I was away so much of the time. Mary Ida [her sister] the only one who stayed here to be with Mother. The rest of us just went off. In trying to talk with someone who had a direct connection, it's just gotten hard.

FR: The Felmet name is a little bit unusual – course for us, we've known it all of our lives. And I remember one time when I was at Bon Marche, and this boy came in, this man came in and bought some things. And he wanted to charge it, so I asked for his name. And I didn't understand what he said. Felmet. Course I had a brother-in-law by that name. And I asked him how to spell it. Joe Felmet – I don't know if you knew him or not, but he talked kind of [sound meaning garbled]. And he said, "F-E-L-M-E-T J-O-E." --I just didn't understand what he said. [Laughter.]

ZR: So, you worked at Bon Marche?

FR: Yes.

ZR: You had mentioned Felmet Brother's grocery story going out of business during the depression. Out of the top of you head, can you think of other Asheville businesses that closed then? I was thinking of Palais Royal.

FR: That burned. I don't think it was there then. It was on the corner of South Pack Square and Main Street. Court Square then.

EH: Was that the Fortune's?

FR: They had a connection. Bob Fortune, you know he did that marvelous thing with the pictures?

EH: Oh yes, you know he was with the power company? [CP&L.]

FR: I knew Bob. You know, last week his sister died?

EH: Gladys! I didn't know Gladys died last week.

FR: Yep. You know the funny thing about Gladys, and Bob. I knew both of them, I had known them for years. But I didn't know they were brother and sister until he died.

EH: Gladys was so pretty.

ZR: You know, we have his slide collection? [Robert Fortune's.]

FR: I'm so glad. I want you to set it up somewhere and show it.

ZR: It would be nice to see it again. Right now we're trying to convert it to scanned images.

EH: One of the last places I took Mother was to one he did at the Catholic church, downstairs in the Lawrenteen Canteen.

FR: The last place I saw his slides was at the Lord Auditorium. The last thing I saw there was on Guastavino.

ZR: I think I asked you two questions at once. Do you remember any other businesses that closed down during the depression?

FR: Well, of course Grace Supply went bankrupt. But all the Rice's had moved out to Enka and they put the store up out there. But the business never did disappear because Mr. Brock took over the dry goods part and Frank Edwards and Mr. Parks took over the grocery part. Now the hardware disappeared. But as far as other, the Palais Royal (Patty Royal) was what the locals called it. –Like I asked an older woman if she wanted me to take her out to Catalooche the other day. And she said, "It's called Catalooch (no long "e" sound at end.)

EH: Well, I never heard anyone say Catalooche.

Discussion about Ottari Sanitarium and pronunciation.